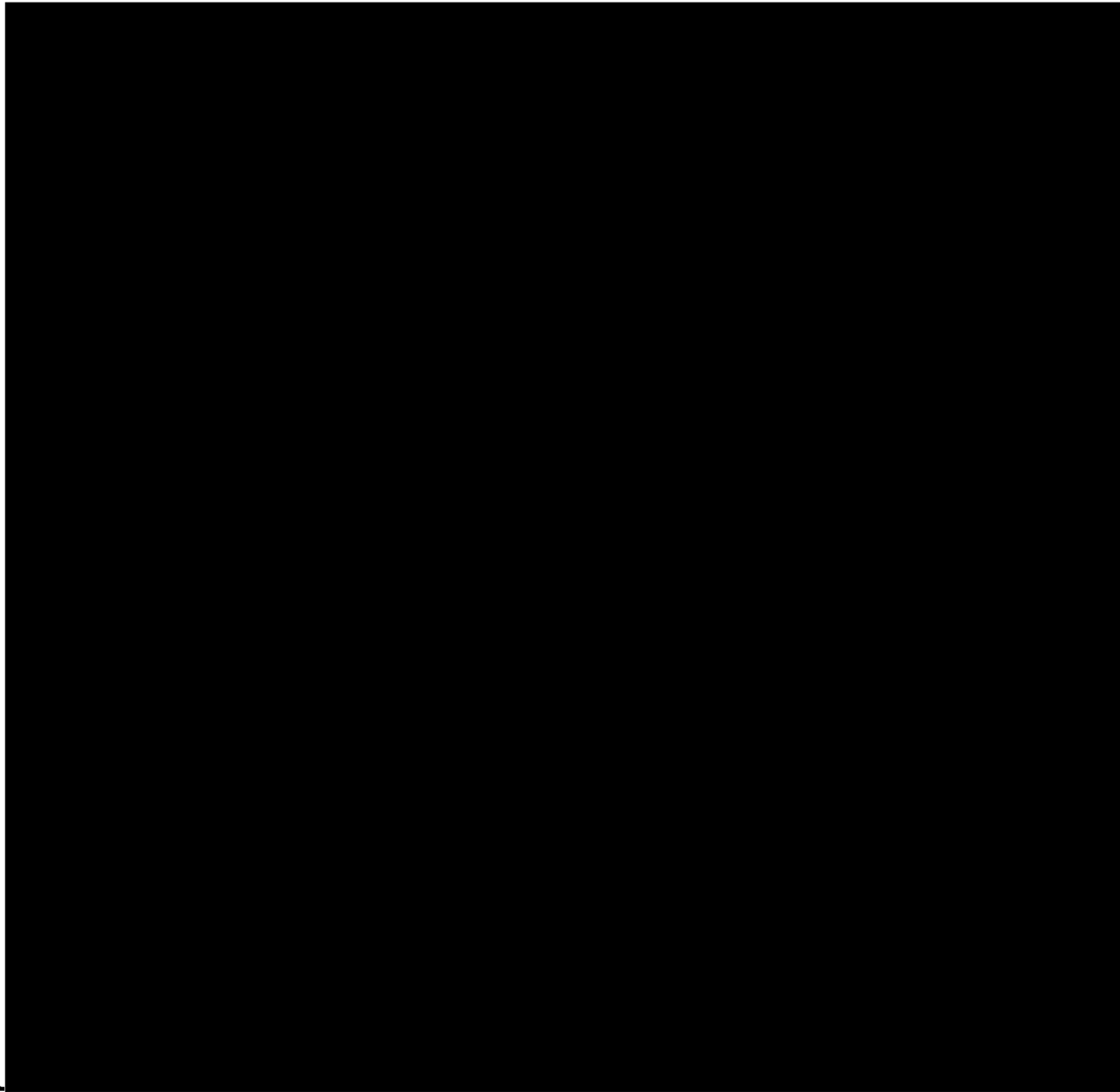


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## South Africa's Brokers of Ballots and Bullets

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Andries Treurnicht and Eugene Terreblanche reject power sharing with blacks and propose partitioning South Africa to preserve a white homeland. But Treurnicht says the "ballot is our bullet" to defend Afrikaners from nonwhite rule, while Terreblanche insists "the time for voting politics is over, the time for bullet politics is now."



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## Special Analysis

### SOUTH AFRICA: White Resistance to ANC Talks Rising

*President de Klerk is pushing ahead with preparations for talks with the African National Congress next month despite signs of a growing white backlash. If necessary, he will crack down on the right to keep talks on track.* [REDACTED]

Conservative political organizations, which foundered during the relative calm last year, have been galvanized by de Klerk's moves to release Nelson Mandela and to legalize the ANC and other groups and by resurgent unrest in some townships. Leaders of the Conservative Party are charging that de Klerk has betrayed whites and lost his mandate to govern. The growing risk of rightwing violence threatens to cloud next month's direct talks between the government and the ANC. [REDACTED]

Conservatives are trying to sow divisions in de Klerk's National Party and embarrass the President. They are conducting a massive petition drive and plan to present at a rally next month on the anniversary of the Nationalists' victory in 1948 the signatures of a million whites demanding a new election. De Klerk's party is bracing for disappointing results in byelections; the first is set for June. [REDACTED]

Conservative Party strategists are torn over whether to take a relatively moderate line that appeals to a broad range of white opinion or to take a harder line that satisfies party zealots. So far the Conservatives have been restrained in their public behavior, but recent rightwing rhetoric is increasingly inflammatory; party leader Andries Treurnicht recently asserted that Afrikaners have the right to use violence to protect themselves. [REDACTED]

Treurnicht has stopped short of openly advocating attacks or promoting the formation of vigilante "commando" units in some communities, and some Conservative Party leaders reportedly have tried to dissuade supporters from taking the law into their own hands but fear they cannot indefinitely fight panic among whites. [REDACTED]

Many Afrikaners are torn between their conviction that they must protect the future of Afrikanerdom and their respect for government, leaders, and law and order. There is ample precedent of Afrikaners' resorting to violent resistance when they believe their leaders have betrayed them. Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, has announced the mobilization of his group's military wing and belittled the Conservative petition drive, saying what is needed is a million guns rather than signatures. [REDACTED]

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### Assessing the Potential for Rightwing Violence

Reports of rightwing violence against blacks have increased since the recent surge in unrest between rival black groups. Incidents so far have been limited to attacks by individuals or small groups, but new paramilitary groups are forming, and others established during previous periods of white anxiety have been reactivated. Armed vigilante groups openly patrol conservative white residential areas and harass blacks. Whites have long been heavily armed—1.5 million adult white men own the vast majority of some 3 million registered weapons—but the number of gun owners reportedly has risen sharply since de Klerk unbanned the ANC. Some gun stores have recently run out, and rural whites are widely rumored to be caching arms. [REDACTED]

De Klerk has alienated many rightwing members of the national police and apparently is concerned about the loyalty of some officers. Many white police, who make up half the force, come from relatively poor and conservative segments of the Afrikaner community; [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Police officers are resigning at the rate of more than 20 a day, and former officers are well represented in paramilitary organizations. De Klerk has stood firm, however, ordering top police officials to stay out of politics and impaneling commissions of inquiry into police abuses. [REDACTED]

### Coping With the Right

De Klerk appears determined to press ahead with talks despite the rightwing backlash. A senior Cabinet member recently said the party's strategy is to implement potentially unpopular policies quickly so the public can adjust before the party faces voters again. [REDACTED]

For now the Conservative Party can do little to stop de Klerk in parliament. Even if all Conservative legislators were to resign, de Klerk would not have to call a general election. Available reporting indicates he retains the firm support of the Nationalist caucus; if he holds the party together, he can stay in power until constitutionally mandated elections in 1994. Most observers agree there are enough potential defectors to threaten the National Party's grip on parliament, but de Klerk reportedly is prepared to form a coalition with the proreform Democratic Party if necessary and crack down on rightwing protests to keep the talks on track. [REDACTED]

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